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BULLETIN OF
Friends
Historical Association

Vol. 36 Spring Number, 1947 No. 1

DESIDERATA IN QUAKER HISTORY—AN EDITORIAL

By Frederick B. Tolles

TAKING advantage of his temporary occupancy of the editorial chair, the Acting Editor begs leave to take a few pages to point out what seem to him some of the outstanding needs in the field of Quaker history at the present time.

I

The origins of Quakerism have always held a peculiar fascination for historians and will no doubt continue to do so. Without question, more pages have been devoted to the decade or so before 1660 than to any other period in Quaker history. Yet, as shown by the recent lively exchange between Henry J. Cadbury and Winthrop S. Hudson in the *Journal of Religion,* there is still room for controversy over the relationship between primitive Quakerism and other cognate movements in the Commonwealth period. I should like to submit that in our zeal to find traces of the influence of Boehme and other esoteric mystics we have overlooked something which should have been obvious; namely, the rootage of Quakerism in the distinctive religious ethos of seventeenth-century England—that great outcropping of prophetic piety which we call Puritanism.

Students of Quaker history need to bring themselves abreast of the work of recent scholars who have been reinterpreting the Puritan movement in terms which reveal a closer affinity with Quakerism than previous generations appreciated. Thus we find

Perry Miller of Harvard, the most profound interpreter of the New England Puritan mind, writing that there was in Puritanism "a piety, a religious passion, the sense of an inward communication" which, he feels, was not unlike that of the Quakers. "At the core of the [Puritan] theology," he observes, "there was an indestructible element which was mystical." This is assuredly a startling view to those of us who think of the Puritans only as exponents of a grim and unlovely Calvinism who hanged four Quakers on Boston Common and harried others out of their colonies with unexampled ferocity. This interpretation is buttressed, however, not only by Professor Miller's inexpugnable learning but by the findings of other scholars like Geoffrey F. Nuttall, in whose important recent book *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* we find the striking thesis that "the Puritan movement was a movement towards immediacy, towards direct communion with God through His Holy Spirit, in independence of all outward and creaturely aids."

Recalling that the "Children of the Light" grew up in an intellectual and spiritual climate pervaded by Puritanism, do we need to infer influences from abroad to explain the vein of mysticism which cropped out so notably in the early Friends? Is it not more reasonable to assume (since in the absence of positive evidence we are obliged to fall back largely upon assumptions) that the primitive Friends simply brought out into the open the latent mystical element in Puritanism and made it the core of their religious faith? I would venture to predict that the next generation of scholars in this field will direct their attention mainly to elaborating the proposition that primitive Quakerism was "a heresy within Calvinism," a development within the broad framework of the Puritan ethos, rather than emphasizing, as earlier generations have done, the parallels with the mysticism of the Neoplatonic tradition.

If this prediction is valid, it is nevertheless not the whole story. Quaker historians need to take more seriously than they have so far done Theodor Sippell's pregnant suggestion that the distinctive thing about primitive Quakerism was its unique combination of the mystical with the prophetic spirit and temper. (Incidentally, an English translation of Sippell's *Werdendes*

Quäkertum is one of the crying needs of Quaker scholarship.) Anglo-American students of Quaker history have not yet sufficiently grasped the significance of the crucial distinction between mystical and prophetic religion which has been worked out so fully and persuasively by European scholars like Söderblom and Heiler, although Rufus M. Jones devoted a few valuable pages to the subject thirty years ago in his Introduction to Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism,* and Rachel Hadley King has more recently emphasized it in her *George Fox and the Light Within.*

The distinction in a word is between a type of religious experience which is passive and contemplative on the one hand and one which is active and ethical on the other; between a theology which regards God as the unfathomable Abyss, the *ewige Stille,* and one which sees Him as a living, energizing Will; between a philosophy which values moral activity merely as a preparation for the experience of ecstatic union with the Divine, neither preaching a social gospel nor forming a social fellowship, and one which places the highest value upon the doing of God's will in the world and promotes the formation of sects dedicated to Christian discipleship; between a metaphysics which is essentially monistic and one which is forever dualistic. As one reads the dynamic pages of George Fox's *Journal* is not one constantly reminded of Amos and Isaiah and Jeremiah, whose message was "Thus saith the Lord . . ." and who were driven by God's power into the courts and market-places of the world, rather than of Meister Eckhart or St. Francis de Sales or even Jakob Boehme, whose lives were consciously directed towards absorption in the Godhead and whose true home was the isolation of the monastic cell?

If this argument is sound we find again that Puritanism and Quakerism draw closer together, for Puritanism in its preoccupation with the moral demands of a righteous God was the seventeenth-century manifestation of the prophetic spirit. This is not to deny that the primitive Quakers had their mystical side; it is merely to suggest that on the whole the prophetic character was uppermost in the first generation. Without minimizing the importance of what we have learned about the mystical roots of Quakerism, I would suggest that the emphasis now

might well shift to the study of the early Quaker movement as a manifestation of prophetic religion.

II

Such studies as I have just been proposing will throw some light upon a second general field in which our historical understanding is deficient—the development of Quaker social and economic thought. Insofar as Friends were Puritans, they were in the stream which, so sociologists tell us, contributed significantly to the rise of modern capitalism; insofar as they stood in the prophetic tradition, they gave expression to its characteristic passion for social righteousness. Although some significant work has been done on Quaker social thought, there is need for further investigation by scholars having sufficient knowledge of general social and intellectual history to relate developments within the Society of Friends to currents of thought and feeling circulating through the world at large.

When an observant Irishman once remarked that Friends were "a God-fearing, money-making people," he was simply calling attention to a phenomenon which has attracted notice from the time of George Fox down to the present day. What is the relationship between the fear of God as Quakers have understood it and the making of money? This is a serious question and deserves a serious answer. I suspect that anyone who attempts to provide the answer will have to become conversant with the vast controversial literature on capitalism and the Protestant ethic which has accumulated over the past four or five decades from the pens of historians and sociologists such as Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, and R. H. Tawney. Whoever embarks upon this project is bound to arrive at conclusions which will illuminate the development of our capitalist system. (Isabel Grubb made a start in this direction some years ago in her *Quakerism and Industry,* but it was only a start.)

There is another side of the economic and social ethics of Quakerism which cries out even more loudly for scholarly attention. Friends have been successful not only in making money but in giving it away. By the world at large Quakers are known pre-eminently as humanitarians, relief workers, social reformers.

And yet we have never really had an adequate historical treatment of the roots and fruits of the Quaker social concern. Auguste Jorns' *Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work,* written over a third of a century ago, is suggestive rather than definitive. We look forward eagerly to the publication of Thomas E. Drake's *American Quakers and Slavery,* but we need equally thorough studies of Quaker work in prison reform, the care of the mentally ill, the crusade against capital punishment, the women's rights movement, race relations, poor relief, and other forms of social welfare. (George L. Phillips's article on Friends' concern for chimney sweeps in this issue of the BULLETIN is a useful contribution in this area.)

In view of the public attention now focussed upon Quaker war relief and postwar rehabilitation, should we not have studies (on the scale of Henry J. Cadbury's "Quaker Relief During the Siege of Boston") of the efforts for the relief of human suffering which Friends have made in virtually every war that has afflicted Western civilization since the end of the seventeenth century? The American Friends Service Committee which has just observed its thirtieth anniversary has amassed an impressive volume of experience in the areas of foreign relief, social and industrial problems, peace education, and the administration of alternative service for conscientious objectors. Careful and detailed analysis and evaluation of those experiences would have immediate practical value as well as long-run historical interest. In this area alone, if full use were made of the Committee's archives now at Haverford College, there would be room for a half-dozen full-length books to set beside the excellent but fragmentary studies which we already have from the pens of various Joneses—Rufus M., Lester E., and Mary Hoxie.

III

The record of the Quaker experiment in government in colonial Pennsylvania demands a painstaking resurvey and re-evaluation. Friends and other pacifists have long cherished that record as the one unassailable evidence in history of the practical efficacy of their pacifism. Within recent years, however, the whole armory of modern historical scholarship has been brought to

bear upon this period with the result that some scholars have come to question both the consistency of the Quaker politicians and the actual effectiveness of their efforts to keep peace with the Indians.

Passing over the well-known strictures of Francis Parkman and the intemperate criticism of C. A. Hanna, the Scots-Irish apologist, one may note that Julian P. Boyd in 1938 started the rehabilitation of Thomas Penn, clearly implying that Pennsylvania's peaceful relations with the Indians were due as much to the wisdom and statesmanship of the non-Quaker son as to the idealism of the Quaker Founder. More recently Paul A. W. Wallace has documented with voluminous evidence the thesis that it was the skill of Conrad Weiser, a non-Quaker and non-pacifist, in threading the tortuous mazes of Indian diplomacy that maintained peace in Pennsylvania for so many years.

From the vantage-point of the extreme Mennonite position of non-resistance come the sobering suggestion of Guy F. Hershberger that the "holy experiment," based as it was upon the principle that there should be no distinction between public and private morals, carried within itself the seeds of its own failure.

> The ethics of the Pennsylvania government [he writes] proved no different in kind from that of the other colonies. The degree of moral performance may have been higher in some cases. But the lofty aim of William Penn was never realized. The practical demands of statecraft required methods out of line with the true Quaker ethic, so that the standards of love and kindness insisted upon in private life were not maintained in government.

Adopting Reinhold Niebuhr's distinction between moral man and immoral society, Hershberger insists that it was and is impossible to maintain standards of love and kindness based on the fifth chapter of Matthew and the twelfth of Romans in the arena of public life. The verdict of another recent student of Quaker politics and diplomacy, though not based upon the same point of view, is strikingly similar:

> pacifism . . . [writes Theodore Thayer] definitely constituted a liability in the colonies wherever it was strongly entrenched. . . . Quakers failed to realize that the underlying cause for the Indian wars was the incom-

patibility of the Indian and white cultures. They failed to perceive that in a very real sense the act of creating wealth from forest and farm, in which Quakers were so deeply concerned, inevitably led to Indian wars.

Recognizing that the word *liability* implies a value judgment and that values may differ, we shall nevertheless be making a grave mistake if we fail to take this and similar criticisms seriously.

If there is a case to be made for the Quaker policy, it must be made anew and buttressed with indisputable evidence drawn from original sources. We are still dependent for the most part upon Isaac Sharpless's history of Quaker government in Pennsylvania, written half a century ago, and Rayner W. Kelsey's *Friends and the Indians,* now three decades old. These are excellent books. They were adequate in their time, but since their publication new source material has been discovered, new standards and techniques of scholarship have come into vogue, and the time is ripe for a new interpretative history of the Indian relations of colonial Pennsylvania. It must make use of all the resources of modern scholarship and it must be written, not from a partisan or sectarian point of view, but with an understanding of the ends which William Penn and the Quakers had in view and an appreciation of the ethical relationship of means and ends in social policy.

The "holy experiment" needs to be restudied also in the light of American democratic theory and practice. Books like E. C. O. Beatty's *William Penn as Social Philosopher* have shown us the degree to which forward-looking democratic ideas were mingled in the Founder's social and political philosophy with aristocratic conceptions rooted in the past. Both elements were perpetuated in the political life of colonial Pennsylvania. From the point of view of modern democracy the more significant development was that which expressed itself in the "radical" party of David Lloyd. Isaac Sharpless's treatment of Lloyd is the fullest we have (except the late Burton A. Konkle's which remains in manuscript in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College); but Sharpless leaves us in doubt whether Lloyd was really a great democrat or simply a demagogue and party "boss." In recent years we have witnessed a rash of books about early American spokesmen for democracy—Roger Williams, Nathaniel

Bacon, Sam Adams, Tom Paine, John Taylor of Caroline. Why has David Lloyd been overlooked?

IV

One of the astonishing gaps in the standard works on Quaker history becomes apparent when one consults them for information about Friends of the Hicksite branch. Taking down from the shelves three of the best-known general histories of Quakerism and turning to the sections dealing with the period since 1828, I find that the first devotes 14 out of a total of 64 pages to this group, another not more than 12 out of 226, and the third approximately 15 out of 509. I do not mean for a moment to suggest that the divisions among us (now happily disappearing) should be unnecessarily emphasized, nor, I hasten to add, do I imply that there has been any design or unconscious tendency to minimize or overlook this segment of the Society. Indeed the fault, if fault there is, lies chiefly with those of us who belong to this branch of the common stem, in that we have not, on the whole, been historically minded. We have failed to do the necessary spadework; we have not produced the monographic and biographical studies upon which writers of general histories must inevitably depend for most of their information. In view of this situation, we should hardly be surprised when authors of standard books find themselves unable to do more than set down a few broad generalizations about the Hicksite tradition.

The fundamental historical question to be asked and answered in this area is, it seems to me, roughly as follows: by what stages and under what influences did a predominantly traditional, mystical, and quietistic group become a modernist, rationalist, even (in some quarters) humanist body, with a strong social-action emphasis? Rufus M. Jones has cogently observed that Hicksite Friends

> have experienced far-reaching changes of view and outlook under the influence of modern thought, finding it easier than for most protestant denominations to accept and make valuable use of the constructive discoveries in the fields of science and history.

It would be a fascinating exercise for anyone interested in intellectual history to discover just why and how and when these

changes came about. Such an effort would involve identifying those factors which predisposed this group of Friends to be receptive to currents of modernist thought. It would require, in addition, a careful investigation and assessment of the impact of such influences as Transcendentalism, the "higher criticism," evolutionary science, the so-called "religion of humanity," and the "social gospel."

One fruitful approach would be biographical. New biographies of Elias Hicks, Lucretia Mott, and Isaac T. Hopper are badly needed to supplement or replace older ones which have become inadequate with the passing years. It would be enlightening to have studies of the lives and thought of such other Friends as John Comly, schoolmaster and editor of Quaker literature; Benjamin Hallowell, influential teacher and scientist; Martha Ellicott Tyson, joint founder with Benjamin Hallowell of Swarthmore College; Samuel M. Janney, poet, historian, minister, abolitionist, and Indian Superintendent; Philip E. Thomas, railroad pioneer and friend of the Indians; Howard M. Jenkins, historian and editor; and Jesse H. Holmes, teacher and philosopher of religion and social reform. In view of the important role which Swarthmore College has played in the evolution of Hicksite Quakerism (to say nothing of its contributions to American educational thought in general), it is a matter for special regret that the late William I. Hull's history of the College remains incomplete and unpublished. These represent only a few of the obscure chapters in the story of Hicksite Quakerism. Whoever finally tells us that story will be making an important contribution not only to Quaker history but to the understanding of the growth of liberalism in the United States.

* * *

Obviously this enumeration of needed studies in Quaker history is not definitive or exhaustive. It is intended merely to focus attention upon four major areas in which the need for research is particularly great. If it leads one person to undertake seriously the study of one of these problems, your Acting Editor will regard his brief term of office as not having been wholly fruitless.

QUAKERS AND CHIMNEY SWEEPS

By George L. Phillips*

AS THE nineteenth century began to creep forward, history reveals the philanthropic activities of the Quakers in denouncing Negro slavery, in demanding prison reforms, in improving the administration of justice, and in pleading for humane working conditions for children in mines and factories. The purpose of this paper is to note the contribution which the Society of Friends made to ameliorate the miserable existence of the climbing-boys in England.

In 1806 a Quaker lady named Fairbank[1] called the attention of Samuel Roberts to the degrading lot of the little climbing-boys of Sheffield. In turn, the humanitarian manufacturer interested several of his fellow townsmen to form a committee to encourage the sweeping of chimneys without the use of climbing-boys, turned poet and orator on behalf of the fuliginous urchins, and encouraged James Montgomery to edit *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album.* Montgomery may have had this Quakeress in mind when, in depicting the Easter Monday banquet provided for the climbing-boys by the Sheffield committee, he placed a young climbing-girl "close at a Quaker-lady's side."[2] Roberts' Quaker friend, by pointing out the plight of the young Sheffield sweeps, deserved the thanks of all the climbing-boys in England for being instrumental in having the public made conscious of their sufferings.

More active than Quakeress Fairbank by engaging directly in the task of aiding the young sweeps were the Alexanders, Ann and William. Ann was the daughter of William and Esther Tuke, and in 1796 she married William Alexander of Needham Market, Suffolk, afterwards of Castlegate, York, where he carried on the business of printer and bookseller for many years. In 1816 Ann Alexander wrote *Facts Relative to the State of Children Who Are*

* The author is American Vice Consul at Geneva, Switzerland.

[1] Samuel Roberts, *Autobiography and Silent Remains* (London, 1849), p. 54.

[2] James Montgomery, *Poetical Works of James Montgomery* (London, 1850), p. 123.

Employed by Chimney Sweepers, as Climbing Boys; with Observations and Outlines of a Plan for the Amelioration of Their Condition.[3] In this work she confessed that from early life she had felt sorry for the climbing-boys and had rejoiced when through Samuel Roberts' *Tales of the Poor* "this degraded class of society had become the objects of public attention, particularly in London and Sheffield."[4] However, since the situation of the young sweeps did not seem to have awakened that "general feeling, which their abject state, on investigation, will no doubt appear to demand, the circulation of a small pamphlet, delineating their sufferings, seemed a primary step to pursue, for promoting that amelioration of their condition, which has, for some years, deeply interested the feelings of the writer."[5] With her fellow Quakers in mind she declared, "In all places where the Society of Friends has any influence, it is particularly desirable that they should ascertain, if it is not in their power to excite the attention and feelings of other benevolent characters, to assist them in devising means for mitigating the sorrows of these poor, oppressed children."[6]

After the publication of her pamphlet,[7] Ann Alexander appears to have ceased writing on behalf of the sooty lads; but her husband continued her desire to assist the young sweeps by calling attention to their condition and describing the attempts of various philanthropic groups succoring them when he edited *Collectitia; or, Pieces, Religious, Moral, and Miscellaneous, Adapted to the Society of Friends,* which he and his son published and sold in York.[8] In 1827 he was being paid by the London Society for

[3] This forty-six page duodecimo pamphlet, published anonymously, was mentioned in Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (London, 1867), I, 7. It was printed for and sold by William Alexander, Castlegate, York, in 1817 and reprinted within the year.

[4] Ann Alexander, *Facts Relative to the State of Children . . .*, Introduction.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The work evoked the wrath of five master chimney-sweeps of Bristol who denounced it in a brochure entitled: *An Appeal to the Public by the Master Chimney Sweepers Residing in the City of Bristol, against the Erroneous Application to their Practice and Character of the Matter Contained in a Pamphlet entitled "Facts Relative to the State of Children Employed as Climbing Boys"* (Bristol, 1817).

[8] Also sold by Harvey and Darton, and W. Phillips, London, and C. Bentham, Dublin. This publication is mentioned in Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books,* I, 13.

Superseding the Necessity of Climbing-Boys the sum of £10.16.0 for printing monthly a publication known as the *Climbing Boy's Album.*

In 1824 two Quaker poets responded to the appeal of James Montgomery for literary subscriptions to *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album.* The elder and perhaps better known of the two was Bernard Barton (1784-1849), "the Quaker Poet," who after retiring from banking settled in Woodbridge where he carried on a correspondence for many years with Charles Lamb. Calling his poem "The Climbing Boy's Album," Barton cried:

> BRITONS! holding freedom dear,
> Abject slavery greets you here;
> HOME-BRED SLAVERY! — dire disgrace
> Borne by childhood's helpless race;
> Friendless outcasts of our laws,
> Having none to plead their cause,
> Save the feeble, struggling few
> Who solicit aid from you.[9]

and concluded by appealing to all Christians to befriend the little sweeps. More lyrical and less exhortative was "The Sweep-Boy's Lament" submitted by Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen (1792-1836) who stopped teaching school to become librarian to the Duke of Bedford, an occupation that provided him with enough free time to write several volumes of verses and to attain the reputation of being the best scholar of the Quakers. Wiffen has his little climbing-boy bemoan his plight in Wordsworthian vein:

> Oh weariness! the world to me
> Is but a world of woe:
> So tasked, I cannot help but be
> Forlorn, where'er I go;
> The school-boy has his hour of play,
> The girl her happy holyday,
> The shepherd-lad his flow
> Of spirits, sun-shine, and sweet song,
> The whole delightful summer long.

[9] *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boy's Album,* arranged by James Montgomery with illustrative designs by Cruikshank (London, 1824), p. 251.

But unto me the seasons bring
No respite, no relief,
And if sometimes I try to sing,
The words are choked with grief . . .

and so with the childlike grace and naturalness of Blake's little sweep he ends his plaint:

I say my prayers! for I have heard
There is a God on high,
Without whose bidding not a bird
Can perish from the sky;
A God that does not love the strong
Who do unhappy children wrong,
But listens to our cry;
He surely does! for when I pray,
My sorrow seems to fly away.[10]

Wiffen's own life of inner contentment and spiritual satisfaction is evident in these simple lines.

The London *Times* for May 8, 1825, devoted considerable space in its columns to the meeting of the Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing-Boys, held the previous day at the City of London Tavern. The reporter, after enumerating the various gentlemen of respectability such as the Lord Mayor, the Earl of Morley, Lord Gywdyr, Sir Francis Burdett, John Smith, and Sir Peter Laurie, declared that "the body of the room was thronged with ladies, the great majority of whom belonged to the Society of Friends."[11] According to Mr. Tooke's report of the committee it appeared that young boys were still lodged in cellars, sleeping on soot-bags, dragged to work nearly naked between four and five o'clock every morning, and returned to their hovels at noon with heavy bags of soot slung over their small shoulders. When they were too large for small flues, they were turned adrift, oftentimes to beg or steal since they were too old to be apprenticed to another profession. To abolish the use of climbing-boys, the Society of Arts had encouraged the invention of a machine to clean the flues and one machine had been produced that could clean ninety-five out of a hundred chimneys.

[10] *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album*, pp. 273 ff.
[11] The article is headed "Mechanical Chimney Sweeping," p. 7b.

One of the speakers at the meeting, Sir Peter Laurie, after beseeching the ladies to pay attention to the sufferings of the climbing-boys in their midst, complimented "the ladies of the Society of Friends on their humanity towards the inmates of prisons" and proposed the report be received by the meeting.

In 1829 the Friends of Hitchin founded a branch of the Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing-Boys through the instigation of John Thompson, Benjamin Collins, and Dr. Oswald Foster. These men converted public opinion from employing climbing-boys by demonstrating the effectiveness of the machines invented for cleaning flues. Dr. Foster particularly was adverse to employing the boys; from early youth he had felt compassion for the unhappy lads. Before the machines were invented, Dr. Foster, according to his daughter, would, while the boy swept his way up the chimney of his house in Bancroft, set "his longest ladder to the chimney-stack, climb laboriously up it rung by rung, with a glass and a decanter held rather precariously in one hand, and, as soon as the half-suffocated lad emerged, would give him a reviving draught of his very best sherry." [12]

Between the years 1838 and 1842 considerable attention was given to the possibility of abolishing the use of climbing-boys in the columns of *The Irish Friend: A Monthly Periodical, Devoted Chiefly to the Interests of Friends.* In the first article entitled "Chimney Sweepers" and signed "A Friend," it was claimed that attempts to prevent the employment of climbing-boys were in vain because the public was unaware of the hardships endured by the little sweeps; consequently, the writer stated "if the members of our own Society in Belfast would unite their efforts in seeking and spreading information, and in making a resolute stand against the present system, they might through the Divine blessing, be a means of doing much towards its final removal."[13] In 1839, "C. W." sending from London an article addressed to the editor of *The Irish Friend,* pointed out that the wrongs of the young sweeps were still unredressed. Callous masters, lazy housemaids, and thoughtless mistresses aided in encouraging the use

[12] Reginald L. Hine, *A Mirror for the Society of Friends: Being the Story of the Hitchin Quakers* (London, 1929), p. 118.

[13] *The Irish Friend,* I (1838), 56.

of small children to sweep flues which might be as efficiently cleaned by machines. Foreseeing no government interference on behalf of the boys, "C. W." declared:

> "Friends" seem more especially bound to act a consistent part in such a case of home abuse; their influence is extensive, and their efforts in the cause of mercy *abroad,* have been great and long-continued; but the effect of familiarity and habit is proverbially strong, and the subject of these remarks has, by no means, met with the attention to which, as a question of humanity, it is entitled.[14]

Five individuals sent articles concerning climbing-boys to the editor of *The Irish Friend* in 1840. The first, "Climbing Boys," was offered by "X. Y. Z." who advocated that the employment of little sweeps for cleaning flues should be abolished by law for "if there is here and there a chimney so crooked, so narrow, so wretchedly constructed that nothing but risking the life of a poor little climbing boy up its mazy and tortuitous flue will cleanse it, let it be pulled down and rebuilt."[15] Following "X. Y. Z." on the same page, was an appeal for "pecuniary assistance" to help the "Committee for doing away with the use of children in sweeping chimneys," to obtain an Act of Parliament prohibiting the employment of little climbing-boys. This notice was addressed to Robert Fayle and signed by Robert Steven, Honorable Secretary of the society, whose address was the Hand-in-Hand Insurance Company, London. Another article was contributed by "J. C." entitled "Climbing Boys.—A Practical Hint," in which he suggested that philanthropic householders ought to buy one of Glass's machines and hire anyone but a sweep to clean their chimneys with it.[16] The second offering to *The Irish Friend* from "X. Y. Z." entitled "Appeal On Behalf of a Deeply Suffering Class—the Chimney-Sweeping Boys" painted the degraded position of the unfortunate little sweeps whose rags, filth, and habits prevented them from associating with boys of other trades, and concluded with an appeal to the Friends to send money to Robert Steven. The last article on sweeps in *The Irish Friend* for 1840 was addressed to the editor and written by "N." who paid homage

[14] *Ibid.,* II (1839), 83.
[15] *Ibid.,* III (1840), 7.
[16] *Ibid.,* III (1840), 23.

to the philanthropic correspondents "C. W." and "X. Y. Z." whose articles persuaded him to make a study of the conditions of the little sweeps. Consequently, "N." summarizes the work of benefactors of the boys from Jonas Hanway to his own period of writing.[17]

In 1842 *The Irish Friend* printed "Climbing Boys" by "C." wherein the miseries of the sooty lads are mentioned and the efficiency of Glass's machine for sweeping flues is praised although master sweeps should not be allowed to use it if they also keep boys since they will take pains to prove the machine to be worthless.[18]

In conclusion, we find that from 1806 to 1842, possibly for even a longer period of time, the Quakers were actively engaged in trying to ameliorate the condition of the hapless children apprenticed to master chimney-sweepers. They interested people of other sects in the cause; they wrote poems, brochures, newspaper articles to arouse public opinion against the custom of sending five-year-old boys up dark, soot-stifling flues; they published pamphlets broadcasting the sufferings of the children. If their work has hitherto passed unnoticed, it is because the climbing-boys themselves have not attracted a great deal of attention and isolated cases of the philanthropic interests of the members of the Society of Friends on behalf of the boys have been carelessly placed under the generalized heading of better working conditions for children in factories and mines.

A *SOCIAL HISTORY of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, 1707-1940* (Philadelphia, 1944), a doctoral dissertation by Robert G. Torbet, explores the cultural history of a religious group whose development paralleled that of Philadelphia Quakerism in certain respects and diverged in others. Two major points of actual contact were the schism of George Keith in which the Baptists seem to have championed religious liberty and from which they profited in terms of membership (pp. 37-38) and the joint efforts of the two groups in 1774 to lay the case for toleration before the Continental Congress (pp. 44-47).

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 23-24.

[18] *Ibid.*, V (1842), 29.

PENN, COLLINSON AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

By Henry J. Cadbury

IN WRITING on "William Penn and the Royal Society" in this Bulletin,[1] Luella M. Wright referred to a forthcoming article by Dr. Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois on "Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society in London, 1661-1788." That article was set in type in 1939 at Bruges, for publication in the eighth volume of *Osiris*. When the Germans overran Belgium it was supposed that the plates were destroyed. Therefore after a time Dr. Stearns's paper was offered to *The William and Mary Quarterly* where it was published in 1946.[2] Now word is received[3] that *Osiris* was not destroyed but that the eighth volume will appear shortly containing the same article.[4] This article adds nothing significant about Penn's membership and it lists apparently only one other colonial Fellow who was a Friend, John Coakley Lettsom, M.D. (1744-1815), elected in 1773, who "though he resided in England for most of his life, always considered himself a West Indian and was well-known to many colonials who visited London, particularly Benjamin Franklin." It does, however, underline the influence of an English Quaker Fellow in fostering the growth of colonial scientific interest. Dr. Stearns says:

> Last to be listed herein and probably the most influential of the Fellows of the Royal Society who encouraged scientific investigations in the American colonies was Peter Collinson. A wealthy business man with extensive mercantile connections in the New World, Collinson devoted much of his energy and wealth to the collection and classification of scientific data from all parts of the world. His early religious affiliation with the Society of Friends appears to have stimulated scientific intercourse with Quakers in Pennsylvania and Maryland, but his insatiate desire for accurate information led him to correspond with many others as well. He was financial benefactor of the Library Society of Philadelphia [*sic:* should be Library *Company* of Philadelphia] and friend of Benjamin Franklin, whose interest in electrical experimentation he greatly

[1] *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* vol. 30 (1941), pp. 8-10.

[2] Third Series, vol. 3 (1946), pp. 208-268.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 457.

[4] Vol. 8, pp. 72-121.

stimulated. Collinson's colonial correspondents included nearly all the most prominent colonial scientists, both amateur and professional, of the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Besides Franklin, James Logan, Christopher Witt, Dr. John Mitchell, William Byrd, Dr. John Kearsley, Isham Randolph, Dr. Cadwallader Colden, and John Bartram were Collinson's regular correspondents in scientific matters over a period of about twenty-five years. The Royal Society had no other member so active in promoting the introduction and development of scientific learning in the New World; and many colonial Fellows of the Royal Society in the list which follows immediately owed their election entirely or in part to Peter Collinson's efforts on their behalf.[5]

As for William Penn's membership some further remarks may be added. *The Record of the Royal Society of London* on page 384 of its list of Fellows, published in 1940, duly notes Penn's election thus:

1681 9 Nov. Penn, William (Founder of Pennsylvania).

Similar was the entry in the third edition, 1912, but the second edition of 1901 did not contain the words "Founder of Pennsylvania" and the first edition of 1897 published no list of Fellows at all. Norman Penney writing in 1909 used the 1901 edition of the *Record* and was therefore justified in asking who this William Penn was.[6] There was, however, even then in print an early identification of the name. *"Brief Lives," chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey between the Years 1669 and 1696* includes under the year 1681 in its valuable brief life of William Penn this sentence,

He was chosen (ballotted) November 9th, nemine contradicente, admitted Fellow of the Royal Societie, London, with much respecte.[7]

This interesting life of Penn was not included in the earlier less complete and less accurate publication of Aubrey's *Lives* in the second volume of *Letters Written by Eminent Persons . . . and Lives of Eminent Men* (London, 1813). John Aubrey was himself a Charter member of the Society and would be a trustworthy authority, even if the Society's own record were wanting. He may well have been present November 2nd, 1681, when John

[5] *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, vol. 3 (1946), pp. 221 f.

[6] *Journal of Friends Historical Society,* vol. 7 (1910), pp. 30 f.

[7] Edited from the author's MSS. by Andrew Clark, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1898), p. 134.

Houghton nominated Penn and a week later when the ballot was taken. Since I am informed by the Secretary that the minutes for these and other meetings include no list of attendance, there is no evidence that Penn attended then or at any subsequent meeting of the Society.

Anthony à Wood (1632-1695) also refers to Penn's election, not in the first edition of *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691-2), but in an account published from Wood's papers after his death in the second edition of the same work:

> In Nov. 1681 he [Penn] was chosen fellow of the royal society, to the end, I suppose that he might give the members thereof an account of things natural and experimental in the said tract of land [Pennsylvania].[8]

Wood's information here as so often may have been due to Aubrey, though much earlier to be published. Yet Wood himself was also an early member of the Royal Society and may have been present when Penn was nominated or elected. From Wood this statement without the conjectured reason passed to the English supplementer "T" (I suppose Thomas Birch) of Bayly's *General Dictionary Historical and Critical,*[9] and to other non-Quaker biographers.

One circumstance might suggest Penn's attendance. In his *Frame of Government for Pennsylvania,* evidently written about this time, he specifies that certain matters "shall be determined by a balloting box as it is now used in the Royal Society at Gresham College."[10] Yet the Society's custom of secret ballot, then so unusual, may have been a matter of common knowledge even among the outsiders.

[8] Vol. 2 (1721), col. 1051; also vol. 4 (1820), col. 646.

[9] Vol. 8 (London, 1739), p. 263. Birch was F. R. S. and of Quaker parentage.

[10] See the unpublished thesis on "The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia" by Frederick B. Tolles, who has kindly hunted down for me the reference, not to the printed versions of the *Frame,* but to two manuscript forms at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Penn MSS., vol. 8, pp. 91 and 101. Other copies of the *Frame* in MS or print do not refer to Gresham College in connection with balloting. A decade later, in his *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe,* Section VIII, Penn recommends voting by ballot "after the prudent and commendable method of the Venetians," explaining at length how the secrecy of "the balloting box" tends to prevent bribery.

To complete the discussion it is perhaps advisable to add that if "admitted" in Aubrey's statement is to be understood technically it cannot be confirmed, for admission to the Royal Society is not the same as election. The roll of "admitted Fellows" would correspond much more nearly to another list, consisting of the actual signatures of those who presented themselves and signed their names. That list has been reproduced in a handsome volume entitled *Signatures in the First Journal-Book and the Charter-Book of the Royal Society*. William Penn's signature, well-known to Friends, does not appear in that list. The editor writes:

> It should be explained that the Charter-Book does not contain a complete list of the Fellows of the Society. By the Statutes it is provided that every person who is elected a Fellow shall appear for his admission within a specified time, unless for sufficient cause the Council may extend the period. The admission consists in subscribing the Obligation in the Charter-Book, and being taken by the hand by the President and formally admitted as a Fellow. But a Fellow duly elected may sometimes never be able to attend for the ceremony of admission.[11]

Foreigners and British subjects living abroad or in the Colonies would be among those who though elected Fellows never were admitted formally to the Society. As such they had no vote and their names were not always on the printed lists of members. Thus about a third of the later colonial Fellows in Stearns's list were not so admitted, including Cotton Mather and Elihu Yale of New England, also William Brattle of Boston who formally declined. As early as April, 1664, special exemption to persons living abroad was provided by statute, whether they were foreigners or British subjects, whether on the continent or in the colonies. According to the Council Minutes, the new statute provided:

> When any person residing in Foreign parts shall be elected into the Society, in the due and accustomed forme and manner; the said person shall be registered among the Fellows of the Society and be reputed a Fellow thereof without Subscription and admission in the usual Forme, anything contained in the Statutes requiring subscription and Admission to the contrary notwithstanding.[12]

[11] Second edition (London, 1936), p. viii.

[12] Council Minutes, I, 62-64, quoted by Stearns, *loc. cit.*, p. 211.

Why Penn should not have qualified one cannot say. It was not because of absence; nearly a year elapsed after his election before he first sailed for Pennsylvania. Neither that visit to his colony nor the subsequent one in 1699 lasted over two years. The dues were not onerous even when the Society found it necessary to secure in advance from its Fellows a bond to insure their payment. Penn would not meet the difficulty of the oath which kept Friends from membership in some other organizations like the trade corporations and guilds, for the Royal Society's "obligation" was not an oath nor so worded that a Friend need hesitate to subscribe to it.

I had even wondered whether Penn was really in sympathy with the Society. He could have been nominated by an enthusiastic friend without being consulted, or could have been overpersuaded by the zeal of members who were very anxious for colonial correspondents. His friend Isaac Penington in 1668 in writing *Some Things relating to Religion Proposed to the Consideration of the Royal Society, So Termed,* had gently suggested that religion was a quest better than "seeking after the excellency of nature and learning" and that "this talent is of an higher kind than nature, and will lead higher than nature."

Dr. Frederick B. Tolles has, however, kindly called my attention to evidence which indicates on Penn's part a hearty interest in the Royal Society. It is a letter which he wrote from Philadelphia on June 13, 1683, to the same John Aubrey mentioned above and addressed to him at Gresham College, the headquarters of the Royal Society in London. Penn acknowledges two letters received from Aubrey and in a postscript sends greeting by name to Sir William Petty and other associates of Aubrey's learned interests. Like Penington he is anxious that such pursuits as theirs should be kept in their proper place, but he recognizes their value and evidently feels that the interest of such persons will be helpful to his colonial enterprise. One recalls his maxim about "inquiry" published ten years later in *Some Fruits of Solitude:* "There may be wantonness in search, as well as stupidity in trusting. It is great wisdom equally to avoid the extremes." The letter was printed from a copy supplied by S. W. Pennypacker in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biog-*

raphy.[13] The original I have traced to the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Aubrey 13, fol. 98-99), whither it was transferred in 1860 from the Ashmolean Museum, to which Aubrey gave his collection of over four hundred letters from persons of note. The first part of the letter, kindly corrected to the original for me by a friend sojourning in Oxford, is here transcribed into modern form:

Esteemed Friend,

I value myself much upon the good opinion of those ingenious gentlemen I know of the Royal Society, and their kind wishes for me and my poor Province. All I can say is that I and it are votaries to the prosperity of their harmless and useful inquiries. It is even one step to heaven to return to nature, and though I love that proportion should be observed in all things, yet a natural knowledge or the science of things from sense and a careful observation and argumentation thereon, reinstates men and gives them some possession of themselves again, a thing they have long wanted by an ill tradition too closely followed and the foolish credulity so incident to men. I am a Greshamist throughout. I love inquiry not for inquiry's sake but care not to trust my share in either world to other men's judgments, at least without having a finger in the pie for myself. Yet I love that inquiry should be modest and peaceable, virtues that have strong charms upon the wiser and honester part of the mistaken world. Pray give them my sincere respects, and in my behalf solicit the continuation of their friendship to my undertaking.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1946 FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held for the second consecutive year in the great hall or banking room of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation (the Second Bank of the United States and Old Custom House), 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, at 8 p. m. on Eleventh Month 25, 1946. The minutes of the previous meeting, read by the Secretary, and a report by the Treasurer were approved. The President, William W. Comfort, commented briefly on the activities of the year, speaking of the gifts which had come to the Association, of the sale of sets of the BULLETIN to Princeton University and the University of California, and

[13] Vol. 13 (1889-90), pp. 460 f.

of the notable increase in our membership from 586 in 1945 to 639 in 1946. This was the result of unusual effort on the part of the Membership Committee, and particularly of a letter which was sent to a selected list of New England Friends in connection with the publication of the article by Henry J. Cadbury in the Spring BULLETIN on George Rofe, founder of New England Yearly Meeting. Twenty-five of the eighty-four new members this year are from New England.

The President also reported that Henry van Etten had been elected to Honorary Membership in the Association in recognition of his outstanding work in the history of French Quakerism, and that the late Zenas H. Ellis of Fair Haven, Vermont, has had his name inscribed on our rolls in "Perpetual Membership, In Memoriam," because of his bequest of $1000 to the Association.

Howard W. Elkinton, one of our members and Acting Director of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, welcomed the Association to the building. He was followed by Edward E. Wildman, who, as an old Earlhamite, introduced the speaker of the evening, Harlow Lindley, whose topic was "A Century of Earlham College." Since Earlham celebrates its centennial anniversary in 1947, it seemed especially appropriate to devote this meeting of Friends Historical Association to the story of the first hundred years of Quaker collegiate education in Indiana. Harlow Lindley, who is preparing a centennial history of the College, drew on his rich acquaintance with the story of Earlham to tell of its founding and growth through the years.

At the close of the address Friends, including many Earlham graduates, had the opportunity to greet Harlow Lindley and to partake of the refreshments which the Entertainment Committee provided.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL midwinter dinner meeting was held on Second Month 26, 1947, at The Whittier in Philadelphia with an attendance of 135 members and guests. In the absence of William Wistar Comfort, Edward E. Wildman, member of the Board of Directors, presided and introduced the speaker, Mrs. G. E. Osland-Hill, known to Friends and to thousands of

non-Quaker readers as Nora Waln. Her topic was "The Trials and Tribulations of Writing a Book about Quakers."

She spoke of the gratification of having her two earlier books, *House of Exile* and *Reaching for the Stars,* chosen for circulation in the British armed services during the war and expressed the hope that her forthcoming book, which will carry a definite Quaker message, will not only have an equally wide circulation among English-speaking readers but will be translated into as many languages as possible, including Russian. She reported having found everywhere on her recent American lecture tour a tremendous desire to learn what motivates Friends. Her new book, *This Is My Home,* will be an attempt to satisfy that desire. She spoke movingly of the loss and recovery of her own faith during and after the war. No one who heard Nora Waln could fail to be deeply impressed by the sincerity of her attachment to the Quaker faith which she regards as her spiritual home.

QUAKER-LOYALIST SETTLERS IN NEW BRUNSWICK AND NOVA SCOTIA

Edited by Arthur J. Mekeel*

IN AN earlier issue of the Bulletin (vol. 32 [1943], pp. 65-75) an article appeared entitled "The Quaker-Loyalist Migration to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1783." The population statistics and some other facts cited in the article were based on material contained in three lists of names of those who moved from the United States to the new settlements.

Two of these lists, actually two parts of the same list, designated as I and II, are in the records vault of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street) at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, where they are in Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, Miscellaneous Papers, box 19. They constitute the report given by Joseph Moore to the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings in March, 1787, on a visit which he and several other Friends made to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the summer of 1786 to investigate the condition of the Friends who had settled there.

Another list of emigrants, designated as III, is contained in "Gathered Leaves," vol. 1, p. 59, a two-volume collection of papers in the records vault of the two New York Yearly Meetings at the Friends Seminary, 16th Street and Rutherford Place, New York City.

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A supplementary list of names, designated as IV, is also given. This list is contained in an article entitled "A Book of Records of the Transactions and Proceedings of the Society of People Called Quakers, who have agreed to settle themselves on the River St. Johns in Novascotia" by J. Vroom in the New Brunswick Historical Society *Collections,* vol. 2 (1899), pp. 73-80.

The lists are as follows:

I

Agreeable to the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings we herewith produce the Names of most of the Members of our religious Society who went from within the limits of our Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania & New Jersey to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Abigail Rankin, wife of John Rankin & her three Children (Warrington or New York doubtful which) (1)*

Hester Lippincott, wife of Richard Lippincott & their Child . . ., reside at Pennfield Beaver Harbour in the Province of New Brunswick, & are Members of the Monthly Meeting of Shrewsbury

Joshua Knight, Sarah his Wife & their Son Joshua at Beaver Harbour are Members of Abington Monthly Meeting (2)

Joshua Knight, son of Joshua Knight—his Wife Euphreme (daughter of John Loughborough) & their Child Margaret (3)

Parneal Mead, wife of Richard Mead a Member of Salem New Jersey, with her Children, Benjamin Parneal and Margaret are at Beaver Harbour in the Province of New Brunswick

Joel Daniel from near Salem, was a Member when he left home but says he has not been treated with for his outgoing in Marriage & does not know that he is disown'd. he lives in or near Frederickton in New Brunswick & was thought to be a reputable Man—

Phebe Vernon, wife of Gideon Vernon, & their five Children, . . . members of Providence Monthly Meeting in Chester County (2)—are at Mackadavy near Beaver Harbour (4)

Hannah Fairlamb Wife of Samuel Fairlamb from Chester—with their Children—are at Beaver Harbour (5)

Sarah Garrison, Wife of John Garrison, & daughter [of] Jesse Woodward from about Crosswicks New Jersey (6)

II

Names of the People in religious profession with the People call'd Quakers in the Provinces of New Brunswick & Nova Scotia, taken by Joseph Moore and William Wilson, in the summer, 1787.

John Rankin, Mariner from Warrington, Abigail his Wife and two Daughters John is not in Membership . . . but his wife and Daughters are (7)

Elias Wright, Merch.t & Farmer, Wife & two Children, not Members (8)

Rhodes Rankin, Mariner. Son of John Rankin a Member (9)

Joshua Knight. Blacksmith & Farmer, his Wife Sarah & Son Joshua are Members of Abington Meeting & Joshua is like to be restored (2)

Hester Lippincott, a Member from Shrewsbury has one Child, Eliza

* Figures in parentheses refer to the notes at the end of the lists.

John Knight, Blacksmith & Farmer, & his Wife Eupheme, Members (10)
Nimrod Woodward (11)
Samuel Woodward Farmers, the two first stand disown'd
Abraham Woodward
Richard Mead, Farmer. his Wife Parneal a Member, & three Children, from Salem New Jersey.—Richd disown'd
Joseph Parker, Carpenter, Wife Elizabeth & four Children from Shrewsbury its said he has been concern'd in some Military Service, none of them in Membership.— (12)
Gideon Vernon. Farmer. his Wife Phebe & five Children from Providence, Chester County, he concern'd in some Military service his Wife and Children Members— (13)
James Tucker. Boat-builder & Fisherman, Wife & one Child from Shrewsbury, none of them Members. he has been concern'd in Military affairs (14)
Benjamin Brown. Schoolmaster &c from the Falls, Bucks County has been concern'd in the late War.— (15)
Freeman Smith, Carpenter, with one Daughter
Sarah Garrison, wife of John Garrison, she a Daughter of Jesse Woodward. Mard. out. he not a Member.— (6)
Robert Parkes. Mason Chester County (16)
Daniel Register, Carpenter & Sawmill man, from Chester County, suppos'd to have been disown'd for Acting as a Collector & defrauding the Township, by removing without pay in what he had receiv'd he seems dispos'd to condemn his Misconduct but is not of Ability to make restitution.— (17)
Mary Dunn wife of Benjamin Dunn Farmer & two Children
Anthony Woodward, and his Brother (67)
Jacob Woodward, an infirm Man Farmers from about Crosswicks
Asher Brown, Farmer, from about Crosswicks, has a Wife and One Child (18)
John Salkald, Wolf Island, Fisherman &c. from about Chester (he is the Grandson of our late Worthy dec.d Friend John Salkald)—has been disown'd
Samuel Hart, Farmer, from Chester, never in Membership
Amos White, Taylor, Ann his Wife and five Children from Bucks County, he concern'd in Military affairs, his Wife & Children Members
Joseph Tomlinson, Farmer, Margaret his Wife & two Children and a Grandson, Joseph not in Membership, his Wife & Children are Members (19)
Evan Thomas, Farmer. Mary his Wife & three Children from Bucks County, he has been concern'd in War
Jesse Walton, Farmer, from Bucks County, a Member (20)
Joseph Williams, Farmer, from about Shrewsbury, was concern'd in some Military Affairs (21)
Jacob Buffington, Surveyor & concern'd in a Sawmill from near Chester, disown'd (22)
James Harris, Farmer
Caleb Paul, concern'd in a Sawmill, his Wife Priscilla is the Daughter of Joshua Knight, he from Bucks County (23)
Moses Winder, Farmer, from Falls, Bucks County, an orderly Man not a Member (24)
John Gill, Brewer, from Philad.a not in Membership
George Field, from England, last from Philad. a Poor old Man lives with John Gill & assists him in his brewery of the Essence of Spruce—not a Member (25)

John Horner, Farmer, Lydia his Wife and four Children, none of them Members.— (26)
John Strickland, Shoemaker, Middletown Bucks County (27)
John Dennis, Carpenter & Boat builder Son of Henry Dennis formerly of Philad. dec.d Wife Martha and four Children from Bucks County, married contrary to our discipline.— (28)
John Loughborough, Blacksmith, his Wife Margaret is a Member from about Abington. (29)
Samuel Fairlamb, Surveyor, his Wife Hannah a Member of Chester or Philad. & daughter of Francis Richardson dec.d they have three Children—Samuel has been concern'd in War (30)
Amore Strickland, Farmer, from Bucks County Mar.d out of our way (31)
Samuel Stittwell [Stithwell] Innkeeper & Carpenter, Wife and one Child none of them Members— (32)
Jesse Woodward & Wife Mary—he disown'd. his Wife a Member from about Crosswicks—N Jersey. he a Farmer (33)
Isaac Woodward
Jesse Woodward Sons of Jesse Woodward. disown'd (34)
Anthony Woodward, Farmer, Wife Kesiah from New Jersey he disown'd —they have one Child (35)
Joseph Thorne, Mason, his Wife Abigail, & two daughters Hester & Martha—married out—none of them Members (36)

River St. John

Caleb Powell. Farmer & his Wife, at Gagetown, from Westbury Lo Island, he disown'd (37)
Marmaduke Hutchinson. Farmer. at Mangerville, from Crosswicks N Jersey
James Powell, son of Caleb, Farmer
Abner Hampton, disowned by Rahway mo. meetg for some inconsistant conduct in the late War— (38)
Andrew Hampton supposed a member
Benjamin Bunnell Wife &c from Rahway mo. meetg. he disown'd for some conduct of a warlike nature
John Lee Wife &c. professors with frds from Rahway
William Underhill on Spoon Island from New York Government
Robert Comely from Horsham went out from frds in the time of the late War (39)
[?] Cousins & Son, at St. John from Gloucester N Jersey
Hugh Cowperthwaite, Farmer his Wife Sarah & abt 10 Children from Salem New Jersey, now at Sheffield
Joel Daniel, Carpenter, Late of Alloways Creek, now of Mangerville. his Wife's former name Clarissa Winn late of Staten Island—he has never been treated with for going out in Marriage (40)
Joseph Canby Wife & Child— from Bucks County now at Indian
Thomas Canby Blacksmith (41) house Vilage have been disown'd for some inconsistent conduct in the late war

At St. Marys Bay

Anthony Hollingshead Farmer &c. from near Moorestown his Wife Elizabeth & three Sons—he disown'd
Lucy Smith wife of Jacob Smith & their son from Squan N Jersey people of sober character
Priscilla Harrison wife of Christopher Harrison, from Burlington with 4 Children not Members—she the daughter of Joseph Peddle (42)

At Sandy Cove

James Stanton, Son of John, Farmer, his Wife Sarah from Egg Harbour

At Digby

John Jackson, Clockmaker & Farmer disowned his Wife Susanna & Children Rachel, Sarah Susanna John, Joseph, Samuel & Thomas Members from London Grove

Ann Hare, Wife of Capt. Thomas Hare, from London the daught. of Christo. Appleby—of Darlington Mo. Meeting

Sarah Jones Wife of Elisha Jones. from Cortlands Manor N York Government she a daught of Gilbert Griffin—

George Bane & Wife Mary the daugh. of Jacob Bindelo Gloucester N Jersey 3 children

Joseph Land Wife Marg.t from Burlington. the daugh.t of John Bickham

John Boucher, Farmer from Blockley not a Member
St. Mary's Bay

John Hooton. Farmer & Wife Rachel from Gloucester County N Jersey the daugh.t of Jacob Mott, Long Island he disown'd for Bearing Arms (43)

Thomas Dakin, Farmer, at Trout Cove. from Oblong disown'd his Wife a Sober Woman not a Member

Samuel Moore. Farmer (at Wilmot) with his Wife & 9 Children. he a Member of Rahway

Robert Fitz Randolph. Farmer. Wife Phebe at Wilmot & 5 Children from Rahway, Robt. has been a memb. but mar.d out (44)

Walter Willet. Farmer. from near Middletown, Bucks Co. not a Memb. was concern'd in War

David Chapman, Son of William Chapman, from Wrightstown Bucks Co. Concern'd in Hills & Farm his Wife Elizabeth. Late Doughty from Long Island he disown'd (45)

Amos Chapman Son of Abraham Chapman from same place. concern'd with his S.d Kins.n David disown'd for engaging in War.— (46)

Ambrose Hayat [Haight]. Merch.t at Anapolis Royal, from N York Government, mar.d out & disown'd— (47)

John Hicks, Farmer, & Wife from Rhode Island about 26 years since. not now in Membership—

Samuel Smith. at Wilmot. Farmer from N Jersey disown'd by Rahway meet.n for being concern'd in the late War in some degree sincible [*sic*] of his mistake & is of orderly conduct (48)

Isaac Titus & Wife Jemimia Son of Timo. Titus from Long Island

Edmund Titus & Wife Mary

Jacob Titus single man his Brothers from same Quarter. all at Trout Cove

Hezekiah Bunker. at Yarmouth in good circumstances. Cape Posue, has been there many years from Nantucket. disown'd for marrying out

Simeon Gardiner at Cape Sable Island from Nantucket—Wife of Oswald Allwood, near Grand Lake professes with Friends

Margaret Tomlinson, Wife of Joseph Tomlinson, with their two Children, Samuel & Lydia, from Wrightstown Bucks County now at Beaver Harbour (49)

Jesse Walton, a Single Man from Buckingham, in Bucks County—is at Beaver Harbour (20)

Eupheme Harned. Widow of Nathaniel Harned. from Rahway resides in the City call'd Saint John

Samuel Moore. from near Rahway. resides on a Farm in Granville about 30 Miles above Anapolis Royal

Susanna Jackson. Wife of John Jackson, from about New Garden Chester County. with her Seven Children (Some of the Children Joseph West says are members of New Garden Monthly Meeting and the Mother and other of the Children members of Wilmington Monthly Meeting (50)

III

A Return of the Company of Loyalists and Quakers, who embark for the River St. John in Nova Scotia, for whom Samuel Fairlamb, John Ranken & George Brown are appointed Agents.

Subscriber's Name	Men	Women	Children under 10	Children more than 10	Servants	Total	Occupation Residence
John Allen	1					1	Taylor, Shrewsbury, Jersey, not a Quaker
George Brown (51)	1	2	1		2	6	Farmer, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania
Joseph Bispham	1				1	2	Hatter, Mount Holly, Jersey
Benjamin Brown (15)	1				2	3	Bucks Co., Pennsylvania
Joshua Buffington (52)	1	1		2		4	Farmer, Chester Co., Pennsylvania
Jacob Buffington (22)	1					1	Carpenter, Chester Co., Pennsylvania
John Burk	1					1	Taylor, Chester Co., Pennsylvania
Edward Burk	1					1	Taylor, Chester Co., Pennsylvania
David Chapman (45)	1				1	2	Miller, Pennsylvania
William Cook	1					1	Mariner, Shrewsbury, Jersey
John Dennis (28)	1	1		3		5	Wheelright, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania member
Sam'l Ellis	1				1	2	Printer, Burlington
John Fairlamb	1				1	2	Miller, Chester, Pennsylvania
Samuel Fairlamb (30)	1	1		2	2	6	Merchant, Chester, Pennsylvania
George Fox	1	1			2	4	Taylor, Crosswicks [Jersey], member supposed to have been under care of William Dawson
Ambrose Field	1					1	Merchant, Bucks Co. [Pennsylvania]
Joseph Godley	1					1	Farmer, Kingwood, Jersey
Evan Griffith	1	1	4	2	2	10	Farmer, Chester, Pennsylvania
Thomas Green (53)	1					1	Cordwainer, Pennsylvania, young able
Thomas Hartshorne, Jr.	1					1	Farmer, Middletown, Jersey
John Horner (26)	1	1		3	1	6	Wheelright, Haring Town, Jersey, low
John Harris	1					1	Cordwainer, Pennsylvania
Joshua Knight (2)	1	1	1			3	Blacksmith, Abington, Pennsylvania
John Knight, Jr. (10)	1					1	Blacksmith, Abington, Pennsylvania
Joshua Knight, Jr. (3)	1					1	Blacksmith, Abington, Pennsylvania
Jesse Lawrence	1					1	Taylor

Subscriber's Name	Men	Women	Children under 10	Children more than 10	Servants	Total	Occupation Residence
John Loofborough (29)	1	1	1		2	5	Blacksmith, Abington, Pennsylvania
Nath. Loofborough	1					1	Pennsylvania
Lewis Lewis (54)	1					1	Tanner, Pennsylvania
Rich. Lawrence (55)	1					1	Farmer, Jersey
Wm. Maddock	1	1	4	2		8	Farmer, Chester Co., Pennsylvania
Solomon Poole	1	1	3	1	2	8	Farmer, Pennsylvania, low
Robt. Parkes (16)	1					1	Mason, Chester Co., Pennsylvania
Joseph Parkes (12)	1	1		3	2	7	Carpenter, Shrewsbury, Jersey, has been in [?] circumstances
Caleb Paul (23)	1					1	Blacksmith, Pennsylvania
John Rankin (7)	1	1	1	1	2	6	Farmer, York Town, Pennsylvania, rather low circumstances
Robt. Robins	1					1	Wheelright, Allen Town, Pennsylvania
Daniel Register (17)	1				1	2	Carpenter, Allen Town, Pennsylvania
Joseph Reiley	1	1			2	4	Mariner, Egg Harbour, Jersey, middling circumstances
Abraham Rankin	1					1	Farmer, Y Town, Pennsylvania
Rhodes Rankin (9)	1					1	Farmer, Y Town, Pennsylvania
Reuben Randolph	1					1	Farmer, Jersey
Amos Strickland (31)	1	1	1	2		5	Farmer, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania, sober industrious man but poor
Hastings Stackhouse (56)	1	1		3	2	7	Merchant, Philadelphia, middling but capable of getting a living
Samuel Smith (48)	1	1	1	2		5	Farmer, Rahway [Jersey], low
Samuel Stilwils (32) [Stithwell]	1	1		1	1	4	Carpenter, Middletown [Pennsylvania], easy a Kroysly [?] and middling circumstances
George Sinclair	1					1	Farmer, Pennsylvania
Joseph Thorne (36)	1	1	2			4	Farmer, Plainfield [Jersey], low
William Thorne (57)	1					1	Farmer, Plainfield [Jersey], very poor
James Tucker (14)	1					1	Farmer, Shrewsbury [Jersey], a member, his father good circumstances

Subscriber's Name	Men	Women	Children under 10	Children more than 10	Servants	Total	Occupation Residence
Gideon Vernon (13)	1	1		3		5	Mason, Chester [Pennsylvania], misconduct much
Jesse Walton (20)	1					1	Farmer, Bucks Co. [Pennsylvania]
David Walton	1	1	2	3		7	Taylor, Bucks Co. [Pennsylvania]
Joseph Williams (21)	1				1	2	Farmer, Shrewsbury, Jersey, action with refugees a young man
Elias Wright (8)	1	1	2	2	2	8	Merchant, Philadelphia
Aron White	1					1	Carpenter, Shrewsbury [Jersey], not a member a young man
Nimrod Woodward (11)	1					1	Farmer, Monmouth Co., Jersey
Jesse Woodward (34)	1					1	Farmer, Crosswicks [Jersey], not a member young man
Moses Foulke	1					1	Farmer, Pennsylvania
Jeremiah Fith (58)	1					1	Farmer, Pennsylvania
Robt. Fitz Randolph (44)	1	1	4			6	Rahway [Jersey], low circumstances
Sam'l Fitz Randolph	1					1	Rahway [Jersey], low circumstances
Joseph Tomlinson (19)	1	1	4	2		8	Wrights Town, Pennsylvania, very poor
Rich'd Tomlinson	1	2				3	Farmer, New Town, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania

Jonathan Ines, wife & 2 or 3 children, his wife a worthy deserving woman, & his Father a man in circumstances Philad. Co.
Lemuel Evans & Wife
Caleb Powel & do. (37)
Reuben Powel & do.

each family are to draw Provisions till first of 5 mo. ninth from 1500 to 2500 feet Boards, with a sufficiency of Shingles—Nails & glass have been applied for, and was under Consideration & some have been supplyd with them—a few who have rendered Government some services; are entitled to some Bedding, an Over Coat draws, Waistcoat shoes & Stockings for one year from the time of their Embarkation.

IV

George Bennison	Richard Mathews (60)	Wm. Reynolds (63)
Benjamin Field Brown	Jonathan Paul	Mathias Rizen
Thomas Buckley	Peter Price (61)	Daniel Southick (64)
Thomas Buckley, Jr.	Abram Rankin	Samuel Tomlinson
Richard Buffington	Matthias Regier (62)	Joseph Way (65)
Rachel Done	Gershom Remington	Peter Woltma (66)
John Hinchman (59)	Jonathan Remington	Anthony Woodward, Jr. (67)
Thomas Leonard	Daniel Reyepten	Robert Woodward

NOTES*

(1) See John Rankin, lists II, III, and note 7.
(2) Cited in lists I, II, III. He was disowned by Abington Monthly Meeting 6/30/1777 for being a committee man and repairing arms. Abington Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1774-1782, pp. 92, 115. (Photostatic copy of the original in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust St., Philadelphia. This and similar copies are designated HSP.)
(3) Listed in I, III.
(4) See Gideon Vernon, lists II, III, and note 13.
(5) See Samuel Fairlamb, lists II, III, and note 30.
(6) Listed in I, II.
(7) Listed in II, III. See Abigail Rankin, I, and note 1.
(8) Listed in II, III.
(9) Listed in II, III.
(10) A John Knight, Jr., is listed in III with occupation a blacksmith and farmer. Abington Monthly Meeting disowned a John Knight 6/2/1778 for going into the British army. It may be that these two references are to the same person, although in list II he is considered a member of the Society. Abington Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1774-1782, pp. 148, 151.
(11) Listed in II, III.
(12) Listed in II, III. In III the name is spelled Parkes.
(13) Listed in II, III. Also see Phoebe Vernon, list I. He is referred to in Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), II, 591, as having been attainted of treason and settling later at Pennfield. He was disowned by Chester Monthly Meeting 5/25/1778 for appearing in arms and assisting in taking several persons from their dwellings in a violent manner. Chester Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1745-1778, pp. 458, 459. (The Chester Monthly Meeting minute books are in the vault of the Third Street Meeting House, Media, Pennsylvania.)
(14) Listed in II, III. He was disowned by Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting 7/2/1781 for bearing arms and using bad language. Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1757-1786, pp. 443, 446.
(15) Listed in II, III.
(16) Listed in II, III.
(17) Listed in II, III. Chester Monthly Meeting disowned him 4/26/1779 for attending a non-Quaker wedding and taking a test oath of allegiance. Chester Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1778-1802, pp. 5, 16.
(18) He was disowned by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting 12/3/1778 for having married out of the Society and for performing military service. Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1756-1786, p. 452.
(19) Listed in II, III. See also Margaret Tomlinson, II, and note 49. He was disowned by Falls Monthly Meeting 6/7/1780 for taking a test oath of allegiance. Falls Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1767-1788, pp. 255, 260. A Joseph Tomlinson, Jr., probably the grandson referred to, was disowned by Wrightstown Monthly Meeting 8/3/1779 for paying military fines and being married by a Protestant minister. Wrightstown Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1734-1790, pp. 268, 273. (This citation is from a typescript copy of the original minutes in the care of Arthur Smith, Wycombe, Pennsylvania.)

*All minute books referred to are in the records vault at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, unless otherwise indicated.

(20) Listed in II (twice), III. Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 592 lists him as a Pennsylvania Quaker who settled at Pennfield after the war.
(21) Listed in II, III. Alfred E. Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey* (New Jersey Historical Society, *Collections,* Newark, 1927, p. 243), lists him as having joined the New Jersey Volunteers, a loyalist group, and later the Associated Loyalists. He was awarded £147 out of a claim of £620 by the British government.
(22) Listed in II, III. He was disowned by Bradford Monthly Meeting 9/18/1780 for having gone into the British army. Bradford Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1765-1781, pp. 235, 239.
(23) Listed in II, III.
(24) He was dealt with by Falls Monthly Meeting in 1775 and 1776 for having signed the Continental Association but his acknowledgment was accepted. He was later disowned for paying a military fine. Sabine lists him as settling at Pennfield after the war. Falls Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1767-1788, pp. 165, 170, 290, 301; Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 597.
(25) He is listed as George Fieldes in Vroom, "Book of Records," *loc. cit.,* p. 75n., and Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 514, lists him as a Quaker who settled at Pennfield.
(26) Listed in II, III.
(27) Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 593, lists him as a Quaker who settled on a grant of crown land at Pennfield.
(28) Listed in II, III. He was disowned by Richland Monthly Meeting 1/21/1779 for having gone into the British army. Richland Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1767-1786, 9/17/1778; 1/21/1779. (This minute book is deposited in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.)
(29) Listed in II, III. In list III the name is spelled Loofborough.
(30) Listed in II, III. He was disowned by Chester Monthly Meeting 7/31/1775 for joining combinations concerning civil government and for military training. Chester Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1745-1778, pp. 422-424. See also Hannah Fairlamb, I, and note 5.
(31) Listed in II, III. He is cited as Amos Strickland in III. Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 583, mentions him as receiving a grant of crown land and settling at Pennfield.
(32) Listed in II, III. In list III the name is spelled Stilwils. Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 582, lists a Stillwell, probably the same person, who settled on a grant of crown land at Pennfield.
(33) A Jesse Woodward referred to as a "young man" is listed in III. He is probably the son of Jesse and Mary Woodward referred to in note 34. There is a question as to which Jesse Woodward is referred to in that note.
(34) See also note 33. According to Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey,* p. 246, he came from Upper Freehold Township in Monmouth County, New Jersey, and joined the British forces at Trenton. In the *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey from 1776 to 1786* (Newark, 1848), p. 51-52, there is an account of his examination by the colonial forces at Allentown, Pennsylvania, April 10, 1777. He was disowned by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting 9/4/1777 for having been active in military affairs. Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1756-1786, pp. 418, 423.
(35) He is listed in Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey,* p. 245, as coming from Monmouth County, New Jersey, and having his property confiscated by the Americans in 1776 on his joining the British army.
(36) Listed in II, III.

(37) Listed in II, III.
(38) He was disowned by Plainfield Monthly Meeting 2/21/1782 for joining the British army in New York and helping the British to take prisoners in New Jersey. According to Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 525, he went to St. Johns after the war and was a grantee of the city. Later he moved to Pennfield. Plainfield Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1751-1788, 1/17, 2/21, 1782.
(39) He was disowned by Abington Monthly Meeting 7/26/1779 for paying substitute and muster fines. Abington Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1774-1782, pp. 190, 207.
(40) He was disowned by Salem Monthly Meeting 8/26/1776 for enlisting in the army. Salem Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1740-1788, p. 369.
(41) He was dealt with by Falls Monthly Meeting in 1775 for bearing arms but his acknowledgment was accepted. In 1779 he was again dealt with for taking a test oath of allegiance and his acknowledgment was again accepted. Accordingly he must have been disowned subsequently. Falls Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1767-1788, pp. 164, 231, 258.
(42) According to Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey,* p. 170, Joseph Peddle came from Burlington County, New Jersey, and was considered to be a loyalist, although he took arms on neither side. His property was seized by the Americans for non-payment of taxes and he went to England in 1786.
(43) He was disowned by Haddonfield Monthly Meeting 12/9/1776 for military service. Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1762-1781, pp. 312, 319. A note in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society* (London), vol. IV (1909), p. 50, indicates that he was a loyalist, fought for the king, was exiled from his state, and had his property confiscated.
(44) Listed in II, III. According to Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey,* p. 71, he was a farmer, distiller, and merchant at Woodbridge, New Jersey, which is within the limits of Rahway Monthly Meeting. He was clerk of records of the township in 1776 and refused to give the records over to the rebels. He refused to sign the Association against Great Britain and was suspected of having given information to the British. In January, 1777, he escaped to the British army at Perth Amboy and went later to Staten Island where he superintended the building of a redoubt. The Americans confiscated his property in Elizabethtown in 1779, and after the war the British government granted him £575 out of a claim of £675.
(45) Listed in II, III.
(46) He was disowned by Wrightstown Monthly Meeting 10/1/1782 for military service. Wrightstown Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1734-1790, pp. 316, 317.
(47) He was disowned by Purchase Monthly Meeting, Westchester County, New York, 10/14/1779, for being concerned in horse racing "and taking of arms, he says is in our defence." Purchase Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1772-1785, 10/14/1779. This minute book is in the records vault at the Friends Seminary, New York City.
(48) Listed in II, III. He is listed in Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey,* p. 200, as having given intelligence to and acted as a guide for the British army in 1776-1777. He submitted a claim to the British government for £1,196 and received £50.
(49) See Joseph Tomlinson, II, III, and also note 19.
(50) The following communication from the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings was sent to Wilmington Monthly Meeting with reference

to Susanna Jackson and her family. According to this letter all meetings with members in the New Brunswick colony were notified, although this is the only notification which has been found. It is in the Wilmington Monthly Meeting, Miscellaneous Papers, in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Meeting for Sufferings 17th: 4th: mo: 1788—

The Friends appointed to produce a List of Persons in Nova Scotia who are Members of Mon.y: Meetings within the Limits of our Yearly Meeting, now produced a List accordingly; which the Clerk is desired to transmit to the respective Mony: Meetings whom they concern — Some or most of those Persons Families requiring the christian Attention of the Meetings of which they are Members, it is desired such Meetings may be reminded that the Design of handling them the Account of the Place of Residence of said Members is, that what the Occasion calls for in their respective Cases may be attended to, either relative to their spiritual or temporal Welfare —

Agreeable to direction in the foregoing Minute I have extracted from the above mentioned List the following, as claiming the Care of Wilmington Monthly Meeting — Viz:

Susanna Jackson (Wife of John) with their 7 Children, Rachel, Sarah, Susanna, John, James, Samuel & Thomas — some of these Children Joseph West says are Members of New Garden Mony: Meeting —

John Drinker

Philada: 28th: 4th: mo: 1788

To the Mony: Meeting of Friends
at Wilmington

(51) A George Brown, Jr., possibly this person, was disowned by Falls Monthly Meeting 12/6/1775 for signing the Association. Falls Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1767-1788, pp. 160, 164.

(52) He was disowned by Bradford Monthly Meeting 7/12/1776 for engaging in military exercises. Bradford Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1765-1781, pp. 185, 188.

(53) He was disowned by Richland Monthly Meeting 1/21/1779 for having gone into the British army. Richland Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1767-1786, 9/17/1778, 1/21/1779.

(54) He was disowned by Goshen Monthly Meeting 3/7/1777 for military training. Goshen Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1766-1788, pp. 222, 226.

(55) He is listed in Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 543, as coming from Pennsylvania and settling at Pennfield.

(56) He was disowned by Middletown Monthly Meeting 9/2/1779 for taking a test oath of allegiance and placing himself under military protection. Middletown Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1755-1800, pp. 436, 437, 438 (HSP).

(57) He was dealt with by Plainfield Monthly Meeting 11/19/1778 for taking a test oath of allegiance. His acknowledgment of this action, explaining that he was forced to do so by the insults of the rabble and threats of imprisonment, was accepted. Plainfield Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1751-1788, 11/19/1778.

(58) He is listed in Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 515, as a Pennsylvania Quaker who settled at Pennfield after the war.

(59) Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey,* pp. 97-98, refers to him as judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Gloucester County, New Jersey. He was also High Sheriff of the county and a member of the colonial House of Assembly from 1769-1775. He drew up a protest

against the election of the provincial congress, took refuge with the British army in Philadelphia in 1777 and went to New York with it later. After a fire had burned over a two-hundred-acre grant of bounty land which he had received and settled on in Nova Scotia, he returned to New Jersey in 1787 but was soon forced to leave again. The British government awarded him £4,034 out of a claim of £6,437⅛ as well as a pension of £60 per year to be reckoned from 1785.

(60) Listed in Sabine, *Loyalists,* II, 550, as a Quaker settling at Pennfield.
(61) Listed in Sabine, *op. cit.,* II, 568, as coming from Pennsylvania and settling at Pennfield.
(62) Listed in Sabine, *op. cit.,* II, 570, as a Pennsylvania Quaker settling on a grant of crown land at Pennfield after the war.
(63) *Ibid.,* same as above.
(64) Listed in Sabine, *op. cit.,* II, 579, same as above.
(65) Listed in Sabine, *op. cit.,* II, 593, same as above.
(66) Listed in Sabine, *op. cit.,* II, 598, same as above.
(67) He was disowned by Chesterfield Monthly Meeting 1/1/1778 for going into military service. Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1756-1786, pp. 418, 432. An Anthony Woodward is listed in II, possibly the same person.

THE ANNUAL REPORTS for 1945-1946 of the Quaker Collection of Haverford College and the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College reveal certain common trends and announce important new accessions of Quaker historical material. Both libraries report increased use by college students and visiting scholars. Both libraries are continuing to exchange duplicate Quaker books with each other, with other American libraries, and with Friends Reference Library in London. Both libraries report the renewal since the end of the war of connections with European Quaker sources of books and periodicals. The Haverford Quaker Collection announces the acquisition of a microfilm reader and a number of important manuscripts, including the records (on loan) of the Female Society of Philadelphia for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, the oldest philanthropic organization in Philadelphia; papers of the Cope family, Quaker shipowners of the early nineteenth century; manuscripts of President Isaac Sharpless of Haverford College; and a collection of letters and family papers of John Greenleaf Whittier. The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College has received an important collection of several hundred original letters of Lucretia Mott; additional letters of Elias Hicks; five letter books (1780-1806) of James Bringhurst, prominent Philadelphia Quaker merchant; the original manuscript of William Hepworth Dixon's biography of William Penn; and a volume of profile drawings of leading Philadelphia Friends *circa* 1790. A new and promising departure, mentioned in both reports is the practice of holding occasional joint staff meetings for the mutual interchange of information and experience.

BOOK REVIEWS

Josiah White, Prince of Pioneers, by Eleanor Morton (Elizabeth Gertrude Stern). New York, Stephen Daye Press, 1946. 300 pp. $2.50.

JOSIAH WHITE was more responsible than anyone else for the opening of the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania to the industrial system. His original purpose was to create a great network of inland waterways connecting all parts of the United States. In 1810, he bought the Falls of the Schuylkill, hoping to make that river the center of his system, but after failing to arouse sufficient interest in that project, in 1818, he organized a company to improve the Lehigh River for navigation. The rough topography of Pennsylvania made it inevitable that his dream should never be fulfilled.

In his failure, however, Josiah White achieved much. To pay for his works of navigation and to provide cargoes for his river boats, he was forced to open the anthracite deposits of the Lehigh Valley, and even to carry on a campaign to convince the skeptics of Philadelphia that the "black stones" would burn. Coal made the Valley, and the company which White founded in 1822 was called the "Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company." He also invented such devices as the "bear trap lock," and a gravity "switchback" railroad to carry coal from mine to riverside. His iron will could be deflected neither by man nor nature. Even when he died in 1850, he had not admitted that his great dream was impossible of fulfillment.

Josiah White was born in 1781 into a family of New Jersey Friends, and he remained an active member of the Society throughout his life. He took part in philanthropic activities, and used religious terminology in his journal; but he was first of all a man of enterprise rather than of religion. There was little in his business dealings which would distinguish them from those of hundreds of other visionary businessmen of his day who concentrated just as completely upon their affairs, treated their employees as well, and worked them as hard as did Josiah White.

His first wife, Catherine Ridgeway, died shortly after their marriage in 1805. His second, Elizabeth White, survived her husband, after a very trying life, during which he left her in Philadelphia much of the time, while he supervised his business in the Valley. Almost alone she bore the sorrow of the deaths of their three sons, and reared their two daughters. Josiah may have loved his family; but he was more devoted to his Valley.

The present biography of Josiah White is very disappointing. Eleanor Morton has used his journal and the papers of the White family, but she has used them uncritically. She even changes the wording of excerpts from the journal; she seldom gives any indication, either in text or footnote, of the sources of her numerous quotations; and her imagination reveals the inner workings of the mind of Elizabeth White. Her full

treatment of many subsidiary characters, apparently to add romantic interest, creates the impression that she is following the pattern of a work of fiction rather than the requirements of a serious biography.

There is no space here to enumerate the many errors in historical fact that appear in this book. The author displays insufficient knowledge of the historical setting to give us perspective on White's actual importance. Rather she accepts at their face value his own estimates of himself, and his rather narrow views of the affairs of the period.

In a book dealing largely with the development of transportation, not a single map is presented, and there are no diagrams nor even adequate descriptions of such technical devices as the "bear trap lock" or the "switchback railroad."

Josiah White was not the greatest pioneer of his age, as Eleanor Morton implies, but he was important enough to deserve a good biography. It is still to be written.

THEODORE PAULLIN
Swarthmore College

Quaker Anecdotes. Collected and Arranged by Irvin C. Poley and Ruth Verlenden Poley. Wallingford, Pennsylvania, Pendle Hill, 1946. 57 pp. Fifty cents.

IT IS nearly sixteen years since Constance Rourke, one of the most talented of modern American critics, published *American Humor,* the first serious study of our native humorous perception. With characteristic insight she gave her book the sub-title, "A Study of the National Character." Nothing reveals the temperament of a people more sharply than its humor, as anyone can testify who glances into the "funny papers" of a country foreign to him.

Miss Rourke properly made a great point of the regional characteristics in our native humor, for people living together in an environment commonly shared will come to look at things from the same angle; and their humor, which after all generally results from their sense of proportion, will be influenced by the points of view which seem to them to be in normal adjustment, hence not humorous. "Jack Downing," "Sam Slick," and "Hosea Biglow" were as unmistakably down-east as Augustus B. Longstreet and Joel Chandler Harris were Southern, or Mark Twain was of the Western frontier.

One seeks in vain for Quaker humor in Miss Rourke's account. The sobriety and seriousness of early Friends is so firmly established in the popular mind that no historian outside the Society would be likely to investigate Quaker life in connection with humor. Friends know better. One of the remarkable characteristics of the community of American Quakerism, particularly in the last half-century, has been the rich and quiet stream of humor that runs beneath the surface of life and conversation, and emerges with picturesque results in the private lives and friendships of some of the most serious and devoted of Friends.

The "Quaker Anecdotes" which Irvin and Ruth Poley have here collected have a certain consistency, for the humor of Friends, like that of a geographical region, is rendered homogeneous by commonly shared experiences and viewpoints which unite Friends everywhere, although they are so widely dispersed. There are anecdotes which arise from such testimonies as plainness of speech or dress, non-resistance, simplicity, toleration, or even the inner light. There are a number of excellent stories which originate in that independence of character, sometimes to the point of eccentricity, which furnishes its delightful, amusing, and often beloved individuals in almost every Quaker community. There are of course many stories about the misunderstanding of Quaker customs by non-Friends, such as the familiar story of the dinner guest in the home of Friends who was embarrassed by "an awkward silence" at the beginning of the meal, and "just told a funny story to break the ice."

But the temptation to repeat these anecdotes must be resisted here. They are being widely repeated already, and the reader will have heard many of them in conversation since this volume began to circulate. The only remedy available to any Friend under these circumstances is to procure a copy of the book so that he may retaliate. The compilers have done Friends a service by bringing these anecdotes together in a jolly little volume.

The University of Pennsylvania SCULLEY BRADLEY

BRIEFER NOTICES

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

F. SAXL discusses in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 6 (1943), 214-216, "The Quakers Meeting" by E. van Heemskerck. Cf. William I. Hull in this BULLETIN, 27 (1938), pp. 17-33, 57-58. He indicates how the Dutch painter and his many followers like Rembrandt before him turned to the poor and the unorthodox for the subject of piety. "No other representation of the meeting of a seventeenth century sect has come down to us, numerous as these sects were."

THE ORIGINAL of William Penn's letter of November 17, 1677, to Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, formerly Lord Buckhurst, asking his aid against two persecuting Justices in Sussex, is republished, discussed and offered for sale in *The Month at Goodspeed's,* XVII (1945), pp. 59-62.

THE Germantown Friends School published in 1945 an attractive booklet, *Days of Dedication, Leaves from a Centennial Notebook* (32 pp., illustrated), in connection with its hundredth birthday. The principal contents are a play prepared by pupils and teachers, giving three scenes each in 1845 and in 1945, and an address by Edwin R. Embree on schools in the modern world.

ARTHUR JOHN HAWKES in his *Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, Knight and Baronet, 1628-1684* (Supplement to the *Transactions* of the Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 1945, 73 pp.), provides for the first time an adequate account of this neighbor of the Fells and other early Lancashire Friends. Many of the Lancashire persecutors are mentioned, especially his friend Colonel Richard Kirkby. As member of Parliament for Wigan (1660-1679) he spoke in favor of the second Conventicle Act, when a neighbor M. P. rather "excused the meetings of such conscientious people." Hawkes, in contrast to the writer in vol. 63 of the *Transactions* of the Society, aims to show that as Bradshaigh was inclined to tolerate papists (among whom were many of his relations) so he was moderate towards non-conformists including Quakers, but the fact cited (p. 56) that he aided George Fell of Swarthmore in seeking the return of Swarthmore Hall forfeited by Margaret Fell "for embracing the fanatical opinion of the Quakers" is not relevant, since George who was no Quaker sought the Hall for himself, as Norman Penney shows at length in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society,* vols. 29-31, 1932-34. Though his name does not appear much in other Quaker records this life of Sir Roger is good background for the time and place. His chief grounds for wider fame are his development of the cannel coal industry in the estate which has continued in his family at least since 1193 A. D.

FRED LANDON, "Over Lake Erie to Freedom," in *Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* 17 (1945), 132-138, deals with an unfamiliar aspect of the Underground Railroad, its bridgehead to freedom in Canada at Amherstburg, Ontario. All stations on this railroad were and are of interest to Friends.

J. WELFRED HOLMES, writing on "Whittier's Concern for Negro Education," in *Phylon, the Atlantic University Review of Race and Culture,* 7 (1946), 169-175, shows that the poet instead of retiring from any care about reform maintained an interest in the Negro by encouraging institutions for his education, including Hampton, Howard, Tuskegee and Atlanta.

"WHITTIER *vs* Garrison" by C. Marshall Taylor in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* 82 (1946), 249-278, grapples with the problem of why the two reformers came to differ so radically in their method. After listing some of their predecessors as opponents of slavery the author states (p. 255) his answer: their difference was due to "their respective attitudes toward sin." He quotes freely from manuscript and printed sources and shows how the theological differences among Friends and the anti-feminism in some quarters entered the controversy.

CHARLES HARPER SMITH gives in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania,* 5 (1946), 66-79, a history of "Horsham Preparative Meeting." It was set up by Abington

Monthly Meeting in 1718, the house being built upon fifty acres of land donated by Samuel Carpenter, other parts being devoted to a school and to a burial ground. In 1782 the meeting withdrew and combined with Byberry. For the interval the minutes of the preparative and monthly meeting (the former being extant only from 1757) are used to make an interesting description.

WILLIAM MARSHALL (1830-1918) is the subject of the illustrated biography *Scattered Campfires: The Story of a Home Missionary* (New Providence, Iowa, 1946, 61 pp.). Born in Tennessee, he later lived in Indiana, Iowa, South Dakota and finally in Tennessee and Nebraska. He was a Friend and active in personal religious work. This account written by Mattie M. Hadley, last survivor of his eight children, gives an intimate picture of life on the frontier. It quotes also from William Marshall's own diary of his journey to South America in 1899.

IN RESUMPTION of the program of lectures and papers of the Benjamin West Society of Swarthmore College, Frederic N. Price has put together in a pamphlet some biographical and artistic facts about *Edward Hicks 1780-1849,* Quaker, preacher and painter (1946, 27 pp.). Chief value of the pamphlet is the list of sixty-six reported works of Hicks and reproductions of nearly a third as many. The captions do not always fit the list, nor does the latter always fit the facts in this BULLETIN, 32 (1943), pp. 53-63, an article which should be consulted.

FRANCIS HARPER published in the *Year Book* of the American Philosophical Society, 1945, pp. 78-89, an account of "Proposals for Publishing Bartram's *Travels.*" By a broadside long overlooked at the Society's library he shows that five years before the publication of William Bartram's *Travels* in 1791 another Philadelphia printer proposed publishing not only the *Travels* but a descriptive catalogue, now unhappily lost, of the trees and shrubs growing in Bartram's garden. It was perhaps the suggestion that Benjamin Smith Barton correct and edit the manuscript that led to the abandonment of this earlier plan of publication.

A VERY controversial matter relating only indirectly to Friends, because the subject of the disputed letter is an alleged plot to capture William Penn and his fellow Quakers on the ship "Welcome" in 1682, is introduced in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* vol. 27 (1945-6), pp. 179-205, by David R. Barbee: "Did James F. Shunk Forge the Cotton Mather Letter? The Answer is: Definitely No." In vol. 28 (1946-7), Clifford K. Shipton replies (pp. 62-65) and David R. Barbee replies to him (pp. 163-4).

"THE MARCH of the Paxton Boys" by Brooke Hindle in *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, vol. 3 (1946), pp. 461-486, deals objectively with a critical event in the relations of Friends to other

elements in Pennsylvania, especially the frontiersmen, in 1763-4. Theodore Thayer deals more generally with the same period in his "Quaker Party of Pennsylvania, 1755-1765" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. 71 (1947), pp. 19-43. Its leaders were not all Friends and its bond of unity was its opposition to the Proprietary party.

LIGHT THROUGH THE CLOUD by L. A. G. Strong (London, Friends Book Centre, 1946, 33 pages) gives a review of the history and significance of the York Retreat, fittingly commemorating its 150th birthday.

"QUAKER MEETING HOUSES, 1670-1850" by Hubert Lidbetter in the *Architectural Review* (London), vol. 99 (1946), pp. 99-116, describes English Friends Meetinghouses including pictures of more than forty of them—interiors, exteriors, or both—and plans of a score. It is a most attractive publication and without parallel on either side of the Atlantic.

WINTHROP S. HUDSON writes further on some antecedents of Quakerism in "Economic and Social Thought of Gerrard Winstanley: Was he a Seventeenth Century Marxist?" *Journal of Modern History,* vol. 18 (1946), pp. 1-21. R. E. E. Harkness in *The Chronicle,* vol. 9 (1946), pp. 137-143, writes an appreciation of the same person, "Gerrard Winstanley—An Unknown Baptist," though the evidence for his last word is rather slight.

AN ACCOUNT of the current work of the American Friends Service Committee, written by Frances R. Velie and entitled "Global Army of Mercy," was published in *Coronet* for April, 1946 (vol. 19), pp. 62-66.

IN *Social Studies,* vol. 37 (1946), pp. 200-204, Maxine Mathews writes on "Truth and Fiction about William Penn's Treaty with the Indians," using various writings of modern times, especially this BULLETIN, 30 (1941), pp. 99-187. The author concludes that "the usual description of the treaty as a formal function is pure imagination and fiction." Tradition has fused various conferences that Penn must have had with the Indians into one great treaty under the elm in Shackamaxon.

A LETTER of the ex-Quaker signer Joseph Hewes of North Carolina (1730-1779) to Richard Caswell, August 17, 1779, is printed, discussed and offered for sale in *The Month at Goodspeed's,* vol. 17 (1946), pp. 256-8.

A VERY FULL account of "Joe Cannon's Carolina Background" is published by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 23 (1946), pp. 471-482. His father was teacher at New Garden before the boarding school (Guilford College) was founded in 1837. Joseph John Gurney visited there that year and for him the future

congressman was named. In 1840 the family moved to Indiana. For Joe's later history see Jay Monaghan, "North Carolinians in Illinois History," *ibid.* vol. 22 (1945), pp. 445-69.

IN THE *Maryland Historical Magazine,* vol. 41 (1946), pp. 327-329, James W. Foster, the editor, contributes a finely illustrated account of "'Holy Hill,' Early Plantation Home in Anne Arundel County." Richard Harrison, a Quaker, bought the land in 1665, and part of the house was built soon after. At his death in 1716 his second son Samuel received the house and doubled its size. The whole has been restored since 1936, and is located near Friendship, Maryland, and also near Herring Bay.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES contributes to *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, vol. 4 (1947), pp. 60-69, an article entitled "Benjamin Franklin's Business Mentors: The Philadelphia Quaker Merchants." Not only does he call attention to the actual contacts of Franklin with the Quakers and their similar ideals of business diligence and of frugality, but he analyzes somewhat more fully the rise and character of Quaker business ideals.

IN THE *Publications* of the East Tennessee Historical Society, No. 18 (1946), pp. 47-58, Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert traces largely from meeting minutes the settlement of Quaker families from North Carolina in the Holston River area in the 1780's. They formed Lost Creek Monthly Meeting and included several particular meetings. After a decade or a generation they moved on into Ohio and Indiana. The article is called "Quaker Migration to the Western Waters."

THE GREAT SUCCESSION of Torch Bearers, by Rufus M. Jones (Philadelphia, Young Friends Movement, 1946), is the address delivered at the first Philadelphia General Meeting. It is in narrative form, beginning with the Friends of God in the fourteenth century and extending through Quaker history to the author's own time and his English associates.

UNIFORM with some pamphlets on other areas reviewed before in the BULLETIN (see vol. 32 [1943], pp. 33 and 94) is one by Irene C. Hoskins on *Friends in Africa* (Richmond, Ind., American Friends Board of Missions, 1945, 66 pages), illustrated by maps, charts and pictures. It tells of the development of Friends' work in Uganda, Kenya Colony, since 1902, when three young missionaries sailed from New York to Mombasa, until the mission had expanded its industrial, medical, educational and evangelistic work and had a native Quaker membership of over 13,000 and twelve monthly meetings. The pamphlet gives excellent background for an understanding of the East Africa Yearly Meeting formally founded in 1946. Another pamphlet in the same series is on

Friends in Palestine (1944, 90 pages) by Christina H. Jones. Besides its account of Friends' work at Ramallah it contains a good deal of general information about Palestine past and present and includes an extended and judicious presentation of the Arab-Zionist question (pp. 67-84).

THE CHURCH Across the Street by R D. Manwell and Sophia L. Fahs (Boston, Beacon Press, 1946) aims to give an account of more than a dozen different religious groups in America so that each of us may know more about our neighbors of other faiths. The chapter on Fox and Quakerism is sympathetic and generally accurate though in the first printing there were some bad errors on page 172 (and also one on page 151). The illustrations are of a silent meeting at Jordans (in Pennsylvania!) and the conventional portrait of George Fox by S. Chinn. With this volume may be compared *The Christian Heritage in America* by George P. Hedley (New York, Macmillan, 1946, 177 pages). Its fifteen chapters represent addresses given in the Chapel of Mills College. That on "The Inner Light" (pp. 89-100) is a friendly but not uncritical account of Fox, Penn, and modern Friends, emphasizing their distinctive features.

JAMES HURNARD (1808-1881) was an Essex Friend who at the age of about sixty married and composed a long autobiographical poem called *The Setting Sun.* Passages from its ten thousand lines of blank verse, selected by G. Rostrevor Hamilton, have been published under the title *James Hurnard, a Victorian Character* (Cambridge, University Press, and New York, Macmillan, 1946, 155 pages). The verse is prosaic, homely, and generally undistinguished, but for just that reason it has a curious appeal to a kind of human interest in the flat humdrum of an independent Victorian.

OLIVER S. HECKMAN contributes to *Pennsylvania History,* vol. 13 (1946), pp. 248-264, a well balanced account of "Pennsylvania Quakers in Southern Reconstruction." Beside the printed reports of the freedmen's associations of the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings and the *Friends Review,* he seems to have had access to the MS. minutes of the Women's Aid Association. The work was at first physical relief for the Negroes; subsequently it was elementary education, and of course religious and moral instruction, but without the aim of recruiting members. The educational work was chiefly in North Carolina and Virginia where there were already Quaker settlements that could help with the schools and finally take them over.

SOME SLIGHT IDEA of what Nantucket Quakers looked like to a Boston Puritan minister living on the island is indicated by quotations from a letter from the Prince MSS. contributed by Henry J. Cadbury to the *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association for 1946 (pp. 18-19), under the title "Nantucket and Its Quakers in 1722."

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Frederick B. Tolles and Dorothy G. Harris
Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College

Journal of Friends Historical Society

After a lapse of nearly seven years occasioned by war conditions, the *Journal of Friends Historical Society* has resumed publication with Volume 38 for 1946. The Bulletin warmly welcomes its slightly older and highly valued transatlantic contemporary back into the field. This most recent issue is unusually full of interesting and important articles and documents.

A brief obituary of Arthur J. Eddington, President of Friends Historical Society, reminds us of his valuable intensive studies of Quakerism in Norfolk and includes a bibliography of his principal works, published and unpublished.—Pp. 1-2.

"Neave Brayshaw and Quaker History" by Geoffrey F. Nuttall is a warm tribute to the memory of the author of *The Personality of George Fox* and *The Quakers: Their Story and Message,* calling attention especially to his exact scholarship, his soundness in the use of the historical imagination, and his concern for spreading the Quaker message.—Pp. 3-6.

In "Quaker Books in the 18th Century" Ruth G. Burtt draws upon the records of Gloucestershire Quarterly Meeting for an account of the distribution of the books sent down from London Yearly Meeting in the early eighteenth century. She identifies the books, discusses their circulation, and notes among other things Gloucester's interesting suggestion that "Friends Books . . . be sent to severall or all ye Booksellers in this Nation," and that a good discount be offered to encourage this method of "Spreading of Truth."—Pp. 7-18.

"The Earliest National Meeting of Friends in Ireland: New Evidence as to its Date" by Isabel Grubb establishes the fact that the first general meeting of Irish Friends was held in November, 1669, rather than May, 1670, as most writers, following Rutty and Wight, have assumed.—Pp. 19-20.

"Elizabeth Fry at Newgate" is a vivid word-picture by an eyewitness of one of Elizabeth Fry's regular meetings with female convicts; the writer, Melesina Trench, mother of Archbishop Trench, takes special notice of her manner of chanting in prayer.—Pp. 21-23.

From Theodor Sippell of Marburg in the American Zone of Germany comes "The Testimony of Joshua Sprigge," a remarkable excerpt from one of the forerunners of Quakerism in England. Although he never came under the influence of George Fox and although there are points at which his views differed from those of Friends, Sprigge's central experience and message lead Sippell to call him "the first apologist of Quakerism," although his early tracts were published "before Friends were a people."—Pp. 24-28.

"The Luke Howard Collection of MSS" was discovered in 1942 and presented by L. Violet Holdsworth to Friends House Library in 1943. A detailed account of each item in the collection is given, with the full text of the principal unpublished items. MSS. of George Fox, James Nayler, William Dewsbury, Richard Hubberthorne, William Penn, Thomas Ellwood, Robert Barclay, and Luke Howard are included in this important collection, as well as an autograph version of part of John Woolman's Sea Journal.—Pp. 32-46.

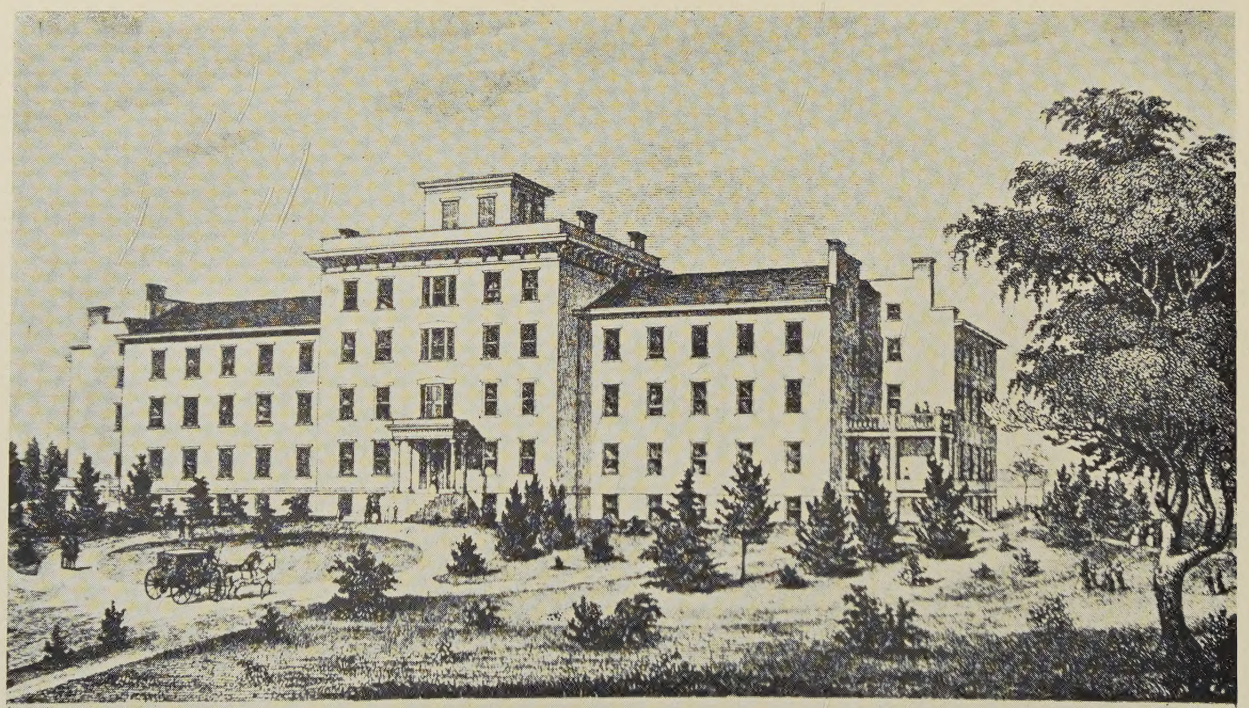
"Some Anecdotes of John Woolman" from a manuscript at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the handwriting of John Cox (who attended school in Mount Holly while Woolman was living there) is contributed by Henry J. Cadbury; the anecdotes illustrate Woolman's scrupulous accuracy in the use of words and the extraordinary sensitivity of his conscience.—Pp. 49-50.

"James Grahame's Diary, 1815-1824," edited by G. F. Nuttall, contains excerpts from the diary of a non-Quaker who was intimate with many English Friends; his references to William Allen are laudatory, those to Elizabeth Fry are not.—Pp. 51-54.

"Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol" is a brief summary of an M.A. dissertation by Russell S. Mortimer, based upon original sources in Bristol and in Friends Reference Library. In addition to material on meetings and meetinghouses, discipline and education, the thesis contains two chapters on Friends' part in the commercial and public life of seventeenth-century Bristol.—Pp. 55-56.

Friends Quarterly Examiner

In "Marriage and Membership," Stephen J. Thorne, Recording Clerk of London Yearly Meeting, analyzes the effect on membership in the Society of Friends of the many "marriages out." He includes statistics for the past twenty-six years that show how far from the original practices Friends have departed, and offers stimulating questions on the subject for the consideration of Friends as a whole.—October, 1946, pp. 218-223.



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